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STUDIES IN GREEK NOUN-FORMATION

Based in part upon material collected by the late A. W. STRATTON, and prepared under the supervision of CARL D. BUCK¹

LABIAL TERMINATIONS

Words in $-\phi\eta$ or $-\phi\bar{\alpha}$ (also $-\phi\acute{\alpha}$)—in $-\phi\eta\varsigma$ or $-\phi\bar{\alpha}\varsigma$, gen. $-\phi\omicron\upsilon$ —and in $-\phi\omicron\varsigma$ and $-\phi\omicron\nu$, gen. $-\phi\omicron\upsilon$.

BY E. H. STURTEVANT

The existence of an Indo-European suffix $-bho$ has long been recognized, and in recent years it has received rather frequent treatment. There is an excellent summary of our present knowledge of the subject in the new edition of the second volume of Brugmann's *Grundriss* (Part I, pp. 386 ff.; see his references to the more important literature). Upon this we must base our introductory remarks on the use of the suffix in Indo-European in general (pp. 197 to 199), although we shall depart from Brugmann's treatment at several points, and our third paragraph is entirely new.

Only a few words containing the suffix can with any certainty be ascribed to the parent speech. In the first rank stand $\epsilon\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ (from $*eribhos$), Ir. *earb* "goat," Swed. *järf* "gulo borealis" (from $*erbhos$): Lat. *aries*, Lith. *ėras* "lamb"; $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ "white," as substantive "white leprosy," Lat. *albus*, OHG. *elbiȝ*, OB. *lebedī*, Serv. *lăbud* "swan": OHG. *elo* "yellow"; OP. *naiba-* "beautiful, good," Ir. *noib*, *noeb* "holy": Lat. *niteo*, Ir. *niam* "splendor," Skt. *nīlas* "dark blue" (?). We should probably add to the list $\epsilon\lambda\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$ (from $*el\eta\dot{-}bhos$): Goth., Eng. *lamb* (from $*lon\dot{-}bhom$): $\epsilon\lambda\lambda\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ (from $*\epsilon\lambda\nu\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$) "young deer," Cymr. *elain* "hind," OB. *jelen* "deer" (see Osthoff *Etymologische Parerga* 305); $\sigma\phi\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$, OPr. *subs* "selbst, eigen" (from $*s^ebho-$), Goth. *sibja*, NHG. *Sippe*, OB. *seb-rŭ* "free peasant," Lat. *Sab-inī*: $*se-$ reflexive; and Slavic *svobó-da*, *svobo-dá* "freedom," *Suēbī*, OHG. *Swābā*, NHG. *Schwaben*: $*sue-$ reflexive.²

¹ See Introductory Note, CP. V. 323 ff.

² Cf. Lidén *Studien z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgeschichte* 54 and Solmsen *Untersuchungen z. griech. Laut- u. Verslehre* 197 f. Solmsen derives Skt. *sabhā* "assembly" also from the reflexive stem, but it seems preferable to connect it with the demonstrative $*se-$ (see p. 199). Brugmann, *Grundr.* 2. 12. 388 (cf. also *Demonstrativpronomina* [CLASSICAL PHILOLOGY VI, April, 1911] 197

It is impossible to draw a sharp distinction between words with an Indo-European suffix and those with a "root-determinative." For example, *κνάφος*, *γνάφος* "a carding comb," *κνάπτω* "card wool," Lith. *knìbti* "pluck," *knëbti* "pinch" (Sütterlin *IF.* 25. 66), clearly belong with *κνήν* "scrape, scratch"; accordingly *κνάφος* may originally have been an abstract derivative in *-bho*, while *ἄγναφος*, *N.T.*, may possibly represent an Indo-European adjective. Similarly we have *(σ)κέραφος*, *σχέραφος* "mockery, abuse," Hesych., Lett. *schk'erbis* "rude," *skarbs* "sharp, etc.": *κείρω*, Lat. *careo*, etc. (Brugmann *IF.* 15. 97). *τρυφή* "luxury," properly "destruction," *τρύφος τό* "fragment" (perhaps originally masculine, cf. *ἔδαφος*), *θρύπτω*, Lett. *drubascha* "fragment," *drubasas* "splinter" stand beside *θραύω* "break," *θραυστός* "frangible," Lett. *drupi* "fragments," *drupu* "fall to pieces" (cf. p. 209), etc.

Scholars have been more successful in tracing certain uses of the suffix back to pro-ethnic times. Thus, all branches of the Indo-European stock employ it in animal names. Adjectives, though rather less numerous except in Baltic-Slavic, are quite as widespread. It is hardly possible to classify their meanings except for the several languages separately.¹ Abstracts occur with some frequency in Baltic-Slavic and Greek, and occasionally elsewhere.

The abstracts and adjectives seem to be very closely related. The suffix-form *-ībhā-* common in abstracts in Baltic-Slavic, stands beside *-ībho* in Lithuanian and Greek adjectives.² Such pairs as Lith. *dalybas* "sharing": *dalybos* (plural) "division," especially of an inheritance, and Goth. *halbs* "half": *halba* fem. "Seite, Teil" are significant. The animal names probably represent, in part at least, a specialization of the adjectives. For example, several animal names

31), on the other hand, connects only Slavic *svobo-da* with the reflexive stem. Apparently he loses sight of the fact that these etymologies are quite independent of Solmsen's theory that I-E. *su-* became *s-* under certain unknown conditions, since the semantic equivalence of **sue-* and **se-* is indubitable.

¹ Brugmann, *loc. cit.*, lays stress upon the color words; but, of the half-dozen he names, Lat. *galbus* is very likely a Celtic loan word with suffix *-uo* (Walde), while *ἄλωφος* and *ἄργυφος* may be specifically Greek.

² The constant length of the *-ī-* in Baltic is not original, as is shown by Slavic *-i-*. Lithuanian *-yba*, *-ybė* in abstracts may have been influenced by the equivalent suffix *-ysta*, *-ystė*. The adjectives in *-ybas* clearly stand in some secondary relation to those in *-yvas*. Slavic *-ivū* (see Leskien *Bildung d. Nomina im Lit.* 353). But Greek *σέριφος* (see p. 209) indicates that the parent language had the suffix *-ībho* as well as *-ībho*.

in *-bho* were originally color words. With these we must include words like Goth. *-dūbō*, OHG. *tūba*, Eng. *dove* : Ir. *dub* "black" (? Brugmann *Grundr.* 2. 1². 306), which did not contain the suffix.

The parent speech also employed the suffix in *-bho* or *-bhā* to form derivatives from pronominal stems. The derivatives from the reflexive pronouns have been given above (p. 197). Lidén, *Studien z. altind. u. vergl. Sprachgeschichte* 52 ff., finds demonstrative stems in Lombard *-aib*, OHG. *-eiba* "district" (from I-E. **oi-bhā* or **ai-bhā* : **e-*, **o-* demonstrative), Skt. *sabhā* "assembly" (from I-E. **se-bhā* : **se-* demonstrative), and Skt. *ibhas* "elephant," properly "possession, property," *ibhyas* "rich" (: **i-* demonstrative). Some of these pronominal derivatives belong with the adjectives (*σφός*, OPr. *subs*); Germanic *-aib* and *-eiba* and Skt. *sabhā* have a collective force, and so go more nearly with the abstracts.

All the inherited types are represented in Greek, and a large majority of the Greek derivatives fall under them.

1. *Animal names*.—As in Indo-European in general, animal names most frequently show the suffix under discussion. *ἔριφος* and probably *ἔλαφος* were inherited (see above). *κόττυφος* "black-bird" is perhaps onomatopoeic in its first member. Prellwitz suggests a derivation from **kukīubhos* (with dissimilation of the first vowel?), and compares Skt. *kukkubhas* "phasianus gallus." Brugmann, *Grundr.* 2. 1². 390, sees onomatopoeia in the bird names *κέπφος*, *κουκούφας*, and *ἀπαφός*. Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds*, thinks that *κέπφος* is probably foreign. *κουκούφας* (also *κουκούφος*) seems to be an Egyptian word for *ἔποψ* (Thompson *op. cit.*; cf. Horapollo 1. 55). *ἀπαφός*· *ἔποψ*, τὸ ὄρνειον, Hesych., is very likely a variant of its synonym, under the influence of the animal names in *-φος*.

The Hesychian *κόραφος*· *ποιὸς ὄρνις* is derived from the stem seen in *κορώνη*, *κόραξ*, Lat. *cornix*. *σιγαλφοί* *οἱ ἄγριοι τέττιγες*, Hesych., is to be connected with *σιγηλός* "mute," used of animals in Arist. *H.A.* 1. 1. 29, and with *σιγαῖλός* "silent." Probably it applies to the species of which the scholiast on Ar. *Av.* 1095 Dind. says: *ἕτερον δὲ γένος σίγιον καλεῖται παρὰ τὴν σιωπὴν*.¹

¹Schmidt writes Hesychius' lemma *σιγαλ[φ]οί*, while L. Dindorf (*Thesaurus* 7. 216) prefers *σιγαλέοι*. Doubtless one or the other is right as far as the first definition (*οἱ ἄφωνοι*) is concerned; but I suspect that two articles have been amalgamated.

κεμφάς· ἔλαφος, Hesych., belongs with κεμάς -άδος, Hom., +. The suffix is -φᾶ-, although it is possible that the influence of the primitive carried the word over to the -άς -άδος declension. χρύσαφος, Marcell. Sid., and χρύσοφος, CGL., a fish, Lat. "aurata," show the influence of the suffix, but they are probably modifications of χρύσοφρυς, the name which is usually applied to the fish in question, rather than new derivatives from χρυσός. κίραφος· ἀλώπηξ is a derivative of the word which precedes it in Hesychius, κίρα· ἀλώπηξ, Λάκωνες; unless we should rather suspect a corruption of the text. An article in Antonius Monachus' lexicon runs: βούφος· ὄρνεον. βούφος ἐπιφοιτᾷ, ἐπὶ τῶν ἀσυνέτων καὶ παχυφρόνων εἴρηται. Whether the bird in question was merely a creature of the imagination or a real bird of sluggish habits, its name is derived from βούς.

The late κουτάλαφας "cicada," Port., seems to be connected with κουτάλα, Doric for σκυτάλη "club, staff," also "sucker" on a tree (Geop. 9. 11. 4). Perhaps we may think of κουτάλαφας as the "insect on the twigs."

ὄρφος,¹ a kind of fish, is Attic ὀρφώς, assimilated to the words with our suffix.

γρύψ, γρυπός (also γρυφός) "griffin," Hes., +, and its variants. γρυβός, Hesych., and γρυφός, Pomponius Mela, are certainly to be connected in some manner with Hebrew *k'rûb*, a creature combining the forms of man, ox, lion, and eagle (Ezek., chap. 1) or of man, lion, and eagle (Ezek., chap. 10). As there seems to be no satisfactory Semitic etymology of the word (Thayer *Lexicon of the New Testament*, s.v. *χερουβίμ*), it is probable that Greek and Hebrew borrowed from some common source. The final consonant of the Hebrew word makes it probable that γρυβός was the original Greek form, in spite of its late appearance in our records.² The stem with π is due to a fancied connection with γρυπός "hook-nosed." γρυφός and γρύψ, γρυφός (Verg. *Ec.*, +) show the influence of the animal names in -φος.

σίλφη "book worm" may be derived from ψιλός "bare," in view of Aristotle's (*H.A.* 8. 17) remark: τὸν αὐτὸν δὲ τρόπον (i.e., as the

¹ Herodian, 1. 166. 19 L., cites the word as a barytone. Modern ὀρφός is from ὀρφώς.

² Cf. Fick *KZ.* 42. 288. This view now seems to me more probable than the one which I expressed in *CP.* V. 331.

serpents) καὶ τῶν ἐντόμων ἐκδύνει τὸ γῆρας ὅσα ἐκδύνει, οἶον σίλφη. . . . The change from ψ- to σ- would have to be explained as an instance of dissimilation (from *πσιλπη). Both meaning and etymology of τίφη, Ar. *Ach.* 920, 925, are uncertain. It is indeed said by Phrynichus, 359 Ruth., and the scholiast on the passage to be equal to σίλφη; and probably we should read τίφη instead of σίφη in Herodian 1. 108. 14 L.: ἐγένετο δὲ ἔλλειψις, ὥς παρὰ τοῖς Ἀττικοῖς ἢ <τ>ίφη ἐκ τοῦ σίλφη παρ' ἡμῖν λεγομένη. . . . But the two words can hardly have been equivalent in Aristophanes' day. In the *Acharnians*, Nicharchus propounds a scheme to burn the ships by putting a wick ἐς τίφην, and sending it to the dockyard through a sewer. Dicaeopolis replies: σελαγοῦντ' ἂν ὑπὸ τίφης τὲ καὶ θρυαλλίδος; Clearly a book worm is out of the question; a glow worm would fit the context admirably.¹ We may at least, therefore, be sure that σίλφη and τίφη have no etymological connection, and that in the classical period they differed in meaning. The semantic confusion which we have noticed in Herodian and elsewhere was responsible for Lucian's τίλφη, a contamination of the two.

Beside (σ)κιδάφη and κίδαφος² "fox," we find κινδάφη, κινδάφιον, Hesych., and σκίνδαφος, Oudendorp's conjecture for σκινδακός in Aelian. The forms with a nasal represent a contamination with the synonymous κίναδος, but the etymology of κίδαφος itself is unknown. Other obscure words are (ἄσ)κάλαφος, an unknown bird (see p. 215), ῥάφοι· ὀρνεις τινές, Hesych., βαιῶμφαι· αἱ αἶγες ἐν ἱερατικοῖς, Hesych., σύρφος· θηρίδιον μικρόν, ὅποῖον ἐμπίς, Hesych., κυφή, a kind of shrimp, Epich., +, καθουφήν.³ ἁλώπεκα, Hesych.

Εἰραφιώτης, Lesb. Ἐρραφεώτης, an epithet of Dionysus, h. Hom., +, suggests *εἶραφος, *ἔρραφος "goat" (Froehde *BB.* 21. 199), or "fox" (Ehrlich *KZ.* 39. 567), or the like.

ἀκαλήφη⁴ and (ἄ)σκαλάφη "sea-nettle," as well as "nettle," and γόμφος· ἰχθύς, Hesych. : γόμφος "nail" are animal names only in

¹ Herwerden, *Lex. Gr. Suppl.*², identifies Aristophanes' τίφη with the homonymous plant name.

² Hesychius' first definition, "δόλιος," doubtless represents a figurative use of the animal name.

³ Schmidt conjectures κάθουριν = κόθουριν.

⁴ ἀκαλύφη, in Pollux and Simeon Seth, seems to be an itacistic blunder for this. See also *Thesaurus s.v.*

a derived sense, and are quite independent of the suffix. *σέρφος*, the name of an insect, is a variant of the adjective *σέριφος* (see below). There are also several compound animal names in the following word-lists, as *τραγέλαφος*, *σχινότροφος*, *κιχλοκόσσυφος*.

2. *Adjectives*.—Several of the Greek adjectives with suffix *-φος* have a derogatory force. But there is hardly sufficient evidence that this is anything more than accidental and that such a force had become consciously associated with the suffix. *λίσφος* “*ἄπυγος*,” Moer., Tzetz., as substantive, *λίσφα τὰ ἰσχία* . . . , *E.M.*, is cited as Attic for *λίσπος*. A derogatory connotation attaches to the latter form in *Ar. Ran.* 826, *λίσπη γλώσσα* (of Euripides), to the compounds, *λίσπόπυγος* and *λίσπόπυξ*, and to *ὑπόλίσπος* in *Ar. Eq.* 1368, *πολλοῖς γ’ ὑπολίσποις πυγιδίοισιν ἐχαρίσω*. Elsewhere *λίσπος* has no disagreeable connotation, and *ὑπόλίσφος* in Philostr. *De Gymn.* 35, *τὰ δ’ ὑπὸ τῷ ἰσχύῳ μῆθ’ ὑπόλίσφα ἔστω μῆτ’ αὐ περιττά*, is innocent enough. *λίσφος* is a derivative of *λίσσός* “smooth” (cf. *ὀλισβος* from *ὀλισθάνω*, *ὀλισθος*; *CP.* V. 337). *λίσπος* has fallen under the influence of *λιπαρός*, etc.

σκελιφρός “dry, parched, lean,” Hipp., implies a base **σκελιφος*, from *σκέλλω* “make dry, parch.” The form *σκελεφρός*, Erot., shows assimilation of *ι* to the preceding *ε*, and so does the primitive adjective in its two recorded substantival uses: *κελεφός*, Hegemonius, +, is one of the numerous late Greek words for “leper”; *σκέλεφορ* (Schmidt; MS *σκέλεφερ*)· *βόλου ὄνομα*, Hesych., was perhaps a throw in which some or all of the *tali* rested upon the narrow side, hence the “narrow throw.”

According to Antonius Monachus and Suidas, the phrase *γραῦς σέριφος* or *γραῦς σερίφη* was properly the Sicilian name of the locust usually called *μάντις*, and was used figuratively for “old maid”; but they have evidently reversed the process: *γραῦς* means “old woman” literally, not figuratively. The adjective appears elsewhere in the proper name *Σέριφος*, a small island (cf. Fick *Vorgriech. Ortsnamen* 57), in *σερίφον*,¹ a kind of wormwood, and in the Hesychian gloss: *Σέριφος*· *Ἀριστοφάνης τὴν Λακεδαίμονα Σέριφον*. *ἔστι δὲ καὶ πόα*

¹ L. and S. cite *σέριφος ἡ* from Diosc. 3. 27 (= 3. 24 Spengel). That passage, however, contains the accusative singular without the article. The gender is shown to be neuter by the article in Galen 13. 126 K.

σέριφος λεγομένη. Instead of this Photius writes: Σέριφον· τὴν Λακεδαίμονα, διὰ τὸ σκληρῶς ζῆν. . . . Apparently σέριφος meant "dry," in combination with πόα "hay," and in the phrase γραιῦς σέριφος "a dried-up old woman"; while σέριφον "wormwood" and Σέριφος, the island name, as well as Σέριφος = Λακεδαίμων, show a derived sense, "unpleasant, harsh" (cf. ξηρός opposed to ἡδύς in Eur. *Andr.* 784). σέρφος, an insect, differs only in the form of the suffix. For the root, Prellwitz suggests a comparison with ξερός "dry."

στέριφος "barren," of women, animals, and plants, Ar., +, is a derivative of the synonymous στεῖρος; likewise στέριφος "firm" from στερεός. ἄγροφον· ὀρεινόν, Galen *Lex. Hipp.*, is derived from ἀγρός. στυφός "astringent" comes from στύω "make stiff." λήφος· δεινός, Hesych., is possibly connected with λήν "very much, overmuch." In λαφός· ὁ ἀριστερᾷ χειρὶ χρώμενος, Hesych., φ probably represents *f*.

There remain four color words, of which one, ἀλφός, is certainly inherited. ἀλωφός "white," Hesych., is made on the same root as ἀλφός, Lith. *aĩvas*, etc., and is probably an inherited form (see Brugmann *Grundr.* 2. 1². 388). ἄργυφος,¹ a Homeric epithet of sheep, contains the stem of ἄργυρος and Skt. *árjuna*s "white." κίνυφος· ὁ ποίκιλος, Anton. Mon., Suid., seems to go with κινέω, κίνυμαι "go" and κινύσσομαι "waver, sway."

3. *Abstract substantives*.—Most of the Greek abstracts in our suffix differ from those in Baltic-Slavic in having the *o*-stem and masculine gender. All the masculines have recessive accent. The inherited forms (σ)κέραφος, σχέραφος, κνάφος, γνάφος, τρύφος, and τρυφή may contain the suffix (see p. 198). It is certainly present in the following (Brugmann *Grundr.* 2. 1². 390): κόλαφος "buffet" : κόλος, κολάζω, etc.; φλήναφος "ineptiae" : φληνέω, φληνάω, φληνύω; κρόταφος "side of the forehead," plural "the temples," originally "a striking, a pulse" : κρότος, κροτέω, κρόταλον. τὸ ἔδαφος, originally a masculine abstract, owes its change of stem and gender to the influence of the synonymous and cognate ἔδος. Homeric εἰλυφόων "whirling" implies an abstract substantive *φέλνυφος :

¹ ἄργυφος is an extension of this on the model of ἀργύρεος, μαρμάρεος, etc. (Brugmann *Grundr.* 2. 1². 387). Lycophron's σνφός "pig sty," beside Homeric σνφεός, σνφεύς, shows the reverse process.

**φέλνυμι* (*εἰλύω*).¹ *τῦφος* "smoke, folly" : *θύω* must antedate the dissimilation of aspirates.

For the noun *σκίραφος* and its derivatives we have a bewildering array of meanings. *σκίραφος* itself means "trickery, cheating" in Hipponax, "gambler" and "licentious" according to Herodian 1. 225. 13 f., 2. 581. 22 ff. L., and "dice box" according to the *E.M.* *σκιραφεῖον* is the name of an Athenian gambling den (Isocr., +). *σκ[ε]ιραφεῖν* means "play at dice" (Hesych.); *σκιραφευτής*, "dice player" (Amphis); and *σκιραφώδης*, "tricky, swindling" (Phrynichus in *A.B.* 101). Herodian, *loc. cit.*, is surely right in deriving the group from *Σκίρον*, the name of the red light district in Athens, where the *σκιραφεῖον* was situated. The various recorded meanings can most easily be arranged if we start with *σκίραφος* in an abstract sense "rascality, gambling." This developed into the concrete "dice box" and "rascal, gambler." The connecting link between *Σκίρον* and *σκίρ-α-φος* was probably **σκίρ-ων* "frequenter of the *Σκίρον*."

Several Greek abstracts show the feminine which appears constantly in Baltic-Slavic. *τρυφή* has already been mentioned. *κνήφη* "the itch," LXX, Suid., is a specifically Greek derivative from *κνήν* "scratch, tickle," and has no direct connection with the inherited *κνάφος*.

Beside the familiar *κορυφή*, we find a masculine *κόρυφος*² in an inscription in the Megarian dialect (*IG.* 4. 929. 17 ff.) referring to certain landmarks between Epidaurus and Corinth. *Κόρυφον*, the name of a mountain near Epidaurus, Paus. 2. 28. 2, suggests that the word is Epidaurian rather than Megarian. A wholly different meaning of the *o*-stem appears in the Hesychian gloss, *κόρυφος· κόρυμβος γυναικεῖος*. The force of *κορυφή*, as of *κόρυφος*, is usually concrete, "summit, top"; but a trace of the abstract meaning "height" is preserved in Pindar's *κορυφὰ λόγων*, *λόγων κορυφαί* "the climax," *κορυφαὶ πόλεων* "the best of cities," etc.; although here too the concrete idea was present to consciousness, as is shown by Plato's use of the noun with the verb "to go" (*Crat.* 415 A)—

¹ Solmsen *Untersuchungen z. griech. Laut- u. Verslehre* 325. His alternative suggestion of an original adjective is less probable, since it would not correspond in meaning with the Greek adjectives in *-φος*.

² The accent is determined by Herodian 1. 225. 18 L.

ἔρχομαι γὰρ ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν ὧν εἴρηκα, . . . ἐπὶ τὴν κορυφὴν δεῖ τῶν εἰρημένων ἐλθεῖν.

4. *Concrete substantives*.—Like other abstract substantives, those in -φος and -φη sometimes came to have a concrete sense, as ἔδαφος "bottom," e.g., of a ship, *Od.* 5. 249, σκίραφος "gambler," φλήναφος "babbler," κορυφή "summit." Other concrete substantives, as we have seen above (pp. 202 ff.), sprang from the substantival use of adjectives in -φος, as κελεφός "leper" and σκέλεφορ "a throw at dice" from *σκέλιφος "dry, thin"; Σέριφος, an island, and σέριφον "wormwood" from σέριφος "dry, unpleasant"; λίσφον "(small) buttock" from λίσφος "smooth, flat"; ἀλφός "a dull-white leprosy" from ἀλφός "white."

After the model of these and similar words, the suffix -φος, -φη was used to form concrete substantives. γάλεφος, Interpol. Diosc., is a variant of the plant names γάλιον, γαλεόβδολον, and γαλεόψις. Walde, *s.v. galea*, derives these three words from γαλέη "weasel," in the secondary sense of "helmet" which is seen in the borrowed Latin *galea*. γάλεφος is derived from the same base with the suffix -φος. ἐγκίλλαφον· οὐρά, Hesych., is a derivative of ἔγκιλλον· οὐράν, Hesych. ἀγρίφη¹ "harrow, rake," with its derivative ἀγρίφνα, *Anth.* P. 6. 297, and ἄγριφος "grapple," Const. Porph., may be from ἀγρεύω, ἀγρέω. ἄγριφος "wild olive," Hesych., whence comes Ἀγρίφα· Ἀθηνᾶ, Hesych., seems to be connected with ἄγριος "wild." οὔλαφος· νεκρός, Hesych., suggests ὄλλυμι, οὐλόμην, etc. τάρῃφη· τάρπη, Hesych., goes with τάρπη, and ταρσός, ταρρός "crate, basket."

Ἀλθηφον or Ἀλθηφος, the name of a district in Troezenia, belongs with ἄλθετο, ἀπαλθήσεσθον "heal," Hom., ἀλθήσκω, Hipp., ἀλθαίνω, Hipp. and Alexandrian epic poets, ἄλθεξις "a healing," Hipp., Galen, ἀλθαία "wild mallow," Theophr. (as proper name, Hom.), ἀλθήεις, ἀλθεστήρια, Nic., ἀλθεύς, ἄλθος, Hesych., and several proper names in Ἀλθαι-, Ἀλθη-, -άλθης in inscriptions of Ephesus, Eretria, Cos, and Thasos (Fick-Bechtel, pp. 52 f.). The group evidently belongs primarily to the Ionic dialect, and hence our word is a trace of the original Ionic speech of the Argolic Acte² (cf. Buck

¹ Herodian, 1. 345. 32 L., cites it among τὰ εἰς φη παραληγόμενα φύσει μακρᾷ.

² In this connection we may add that Strabo, 10. 4. 18, says that the son of Cirrus, one of the founders of Argos, was named Ἀλθαίμενης.

Greek Dialects 2). Very likely the Troezenian variety of vine, called ἀλθηφιδάς (Arist. *ap. Ath.* 31 C), got its name from the district Ἄλθη-φον, either directly or from Ἀλθήφιος, the man for whom Aristotle says that it was named.

If μαστροφός, Hesychius' variant for μαστροπός "leno," is a derivative of μαστήρ "seeker," the π of the common form may be due to popular association with -τροπος as it appears, for example, in δύστροπος, the first word in Hesychius' definition of μαστροπός.

5. *Proper names*.—Many appellatives also appear as personal names, among which we may note such as Κόττυφος, Κοσσύφα, Ἐριφος, Ἀσκάλαφος, which belong to the large class of simple names, originally nicknames, based upon names of animals. Cf. Fick-Bechtel 314 ff. and Bechtel "Griech. Personennamen aus Spitznamen," *Abh. Gött. Ges. Wiss.* 1898, No. 5, p. 17, and *passim*. Ἐλαφος is the name of a small stream in Arcadia (Paus. 8. 36. 7), but on its supposed occurrence as a personal name see Bechtel *op. cit.* 45.

Some names in -φος may be regarded as the short forms of full names the second member of which begins with φ, e.g., Ἀντιφος beside Ἀντιφάνης, Ἀντίφιλος, Ἀντιφῶν, etc., or Στάρτοφος beside Στρατοφάνης (so Fick-Bechtel 255). But there are several for which no such full names are quotable, and there is no reason why we should not recognize the adjective suffix -φος as one of those which, like -λος, etc. (cf. Fick-Bechtel 24 ff.), may be employed in short names derived from full names or in those of the class treated of by Bechtel *op. cit.*

Thus Τέκταφος, which Fick-Bechtel say implies a full name Τεκτα-φῶν or the like, is more probably formed directly from the stem of τέκτων; similarly Ἀσταφος from Ἀστων, while Ἀστοφος is a short form of Ἀστό-φίλος or the like; Κέρκαφος, a mythical ancestor of the Rhodians, from κερκνός· ἰέραξ, Hesych. (Fick *BB.* 21. 280); Τύλιφος, a mythical shepherd, from τύλη, τύλος. Is Θελέροφος, name of a poet, formed from a *θέλερος "wishing, wilful"? There are some examples of similar extensions in -φας. Ματρίφας (gen. Ματρίφα, *IG.* 12. 2. 646. 19) is, like Ματρίχη, from Μᾶτρις. From Κλέων is formed Κλιόνφας, *IG.* 12. 3. 1181 (or Κλιώνφας? Cf. names in -ωνδας and -ονδας), and the name of another Melian, Ἐπόνφας, or Ἐπόνφης in the adopted Attic form, *IG.* 12. 3. 1187,

must be of the same type (from an *Ἐπων?). Ὀνόφας, Herodian 1. 57. 15, 2. 655. 4, may be a nickname derived from ὄνος.

6. *Regressive formations from diminutives in -αφιον*.—Such a form as ἐλάφ-ιον, Ar., +, diminutive of ἔλαφος, gave rise to θηρ-άφιον from θήρ, and to a whole series of diminutives having no relation to animal names, e.g., ξυράφιον, χρυσάφιον, χωράφιον, μνημάφιον, etc. In a similar fashion arose the diminutives in -φιον and -υφιον. Cf. now especially Walter Petersen *Greek Diminutives in -ION*, pp. 276 ff. In late times these were felt as diminutives in -ιον, and by regressive derivation there arose many new forms in -φος, -φη, -φα. So modern Greek χωράφα, ξυράφα, from χωράφιον, ξυράφιον, like σταφύλα (not from ancient σταφυλή, but) from σταφύλιον, and countless others. Cf. Hatzidakis *Μεσαιωνικά καὶ νέα Ἑλληνικά* 2. 139 ff. θήραφος, a late medical term for a small insect, arose in the same way, and θέαφος, θείαφος (also τεάφη) “sulphur” is very likely a regressive formation from θεάφιον, rather than an original formation in -φος and the source of θεάφιον, as assumed by Petersen *loc. cit.*

The form of the words that we have been discussing calls for some treatment. It will be enough, however, to summarize briefly from that point of view some of the facts already stated in detail. In particular we must notice the two dissyllabic forms of the suffix, -ίφος and -αφος.

The suffix -ιβho- appears in Baltic-Slavic abstracts and Lithuanian adjectives as well as in Greek adjectives (see p. 198). Probably it arose from the incorrect analysis of derivatives of *i*-stems (cf. ἔρι-φος : Lat. *aries*). We have discussed σέρ-ιφος (beside the substantive σέρφος), στέρι-φος, κίνι-φος, and *σκελ-ιφος. Τύλ-ιφος (: τύλη, τύλος “callus”) was probably in the first place an adjective meaning “callous.” In ἄγρι-φος the *ι* belongs to the base.

The suffix -φος was frequently appended to the weak form of nasal stems as in ἔλα-φος : ἔλλός from *ἐλνός (above, p. 197), κόρα-φος : κορών-η, Κέρκα-φος : κερκνός, Τέκτα-φος : τέκτων, Ἄστα-φος : Ἄστων. In several other cases we may suspect that the base of a derivative in -αφος is a lost substantive in -ων; σκίρα-φος “rascality” seems to be from *σκίρων “frequenter of the Σκίρον” (see p. 204), φλήνα-φος “ineptiae” may be from *φλήνων, and possibly

κρότα-φος, from *κρότων. From these and similar words arose a suffix -αφος which appears in χρύσ-αφος : χρύσ-οφρις, ἔδ-αφος : ἔδος, ἐγκίλλ-αφον : ἐγκίλλον. Compare with these words the diminutives in -άφιον.

Nearly all words containing our suffix have recessive accent. The exceptions are: the inherited ἀλφός (with its congener ἀλωφός), the feminines κυφή, καθουφή, τρυφή, and κορυφή, of which only the last certainly contains the suffix, the Hesychian glosses σιγαλφός and κεμφάς, which may have been influenced by the primitives σιγηλός and κεμάς, the late word κελεφός and the obscure word μαστροφός, and finally, στυφός.

VARIATION BETWEEN THE THREE LABIAL MUTES

So many of the words in -φη, -φης, and -φος show variants with β or π, that we are compelled to inquire into the causes of the variation. For completeness' sake we shall include in the discussion a number of words which do not properly fall under the topic to which these studies are devoted; and we shall find it convenient to treat here the few cases of variation between π and β.

1. π : β.—The Indo-European variation between tenuis and media, particularly frequent in root-finals (Brugmann *Grundr.* 1². 629 ff.), is not often reflected in the Greek labial stems. It occurs, for example, in σκαπάνη "mattock," (σ)κάπετος "trench," etc., Goth. *skaban* "shear" : Lat. *scabo*, Lith. *skabùs* "cutting" (Brugmann *Grundr.* 1². 629); and in Lat. *stīpo*, Lith. *stimpù* "stiffen," Eng. *stiff*, etc. : στίβος "path," στίβη "hoar frost," στείβω, Lith. *staibùs* "strong," etc. (Walde).

The β of βλάβη, beside Cretan ἀβλοπές, ἀβλοπία, καταβλαπέσθαι, with original π as is shown by Lat. *mulco*, is due to assimilation to the initial consonant of the root (cf. vulgar Eng. *Babdist* for *Baptist*).

Νιόπη, on an Attic vase, gets its π from the rather numerous mythological names in -όπη (Meisterh.³ 77. 3). γρύψ, γρυπός, beside γρυβός with original β, shows the influence of γρυπός "crooked" (see above, p. 200). ἀστραπή for ἀστράβη "saddle," Anon. in Rhett. Gr. 8. 668, involves a rather grotesque popular etymology. κῆβος = κῆπος, στύβη = στύπη, and κόλλαβος = κόλλοψ, κόλλοπος show the influence of the suffix -βος, -βη (see CP. V. 332, 333, 341).

2. $\pi : \phi$.—A larger number of Greek words show a variation between π and ϕ , and in some cases this may go back to proethnic times. There was in the parent speech an occasional interchange of *tenuis* and *tenuis aspirata* (Brugmann *Grundr.* 1². 632 f.), as in $\pi\lambda\alpha\tau\acute{\upsilon}\varsigma$: Skt. *pythúś*, Lat. *rota* : Skt. *ráthas*, Av. *raθō* "wagon." We have an additional example of this kind in Lat. *pampinus*, *papilla*, Skt. *pippalas* "berry," etc. : $\pi\omicron\mu\phi\acute{o}\varsigma$ "blister," $\pi\omicron\mu\phi\acute{o}\lambda\upsilon\chi$, $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\mu\phi\iota\chi$ "bubble" (see Walde s.v. *pampinus*).

The interchange of Indo-European *bh* and *ph* appears in $\tau\rho\acute{\upsilon}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{o}$ "fragment," Hom., +, $\tau\rho\upsilon\phi\acute{\eta}$, $\theta\rho\acute{\upsilon}\pi\tau\omega$, etc., Lett. *drubascha* "fragment," *drubasas* "splinter" beside *drupi* "fragments" and *drúpu* "fall to pieces."¹

Walde, *Etym. Wörterb. s.v.*, finds Indo-European variation between *bh* and *p* in $\sigma\acute{\kappa}\acute{\alpha}\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "stile," $\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\phi\iota\sigma\mu\acute{o}\varsigma$ "a scratching," Ar., $\sigma\kappa\alpha\rho\iota\phi\acute{\alpha}\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$ "scratch, sketch," Schol. Ar., Lat. *scribo*, OHG. *scrīban*, OS. *scrīban*, OFris. *skrīva* "write" : Lett. *skrīpāt* "to scratch," *skrīpsts* "curved knife," OIsl. $(h)rifa$ "to scratch." If, however, we assume I-E. **sqrīph-* (Prellwitz), we can trace all the forms to one original, for the Germanic words with *b* are probably Latin loan words, as is indicated by their meaning and by the *f* of OIsl. $(h)rifa$. The meaning of OFris. *skrīva*, OE. *scrifan* "to enjoin punishment upon," OIsl. *skript* "confession, punishment" may easily be derived from the meaning "write"; cf. $\gamma\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\epsilon\sigma\theta\alpha\iota$ "to indict" and $\gamma\rho\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$ "indictment."

$\tau\acute{\epsilon}\theta\eta\pi\alpha$ "be astonished," Hom., beside $\acute{\epsilon}\tau\alpha\phi\omicron\nu$, Hom., $\tau\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "astonishment," Hom., owes its π as well as its τ to the dissimilation of aspirates.

More frequently the Greek variation between ϕ and π is due to analogy. As Osthoff, *Perfect* 301, long ago showed, the ϕ of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\omega$, beside $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\alpha$, $\lambda\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\varsigma$, $\lambda\iota\pi\alpha\rho\acute{o}\varsigma$, etc., arose from the analogy of $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\psi\omega$, $\eta\rho\epsilon\psi\alpha$: $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\acute{\epsilon}\phi\omega$, and the like. Similarly the presents in $-\pi\tau\omega$ form the connecting link between forms with original π and later forms

¹ It is possible that *drup-* represents I-E. **dhrup-*, but an Indo-European variation between *bh* and *p* is problematic. The relationship of Eng. *drop*, etc. (I-E. **dhrub-*), is not certain. It was suggested above (p. 198) that the forms with *bh* contain the suffix *-bho-*, *-bhā-*. If so, this group differs from many others that exhibit "root determinatives" only in that we can identify one of the "determinatives" with a formative element that continued to be productive. In any case, the words certainly belong under this head.

with ϕ . Thus we have $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\eta$ "crib, manger," Hom., but $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\alpha\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "mouthful," Eupolis ($\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$ "gulp down," perfect $\acute{\epsilon}\gamma\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\phi\alpha$); $\sigma\kappa\alpha\pi\acute{\alpha}\nu\eta$ "mattock," (σ) $\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\tau\omicron\varsigma$ "trench," Lat. *scapula* "shoulder blade," OB. *korati* "dig," but $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\acute{\eta}$, $\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "a digging," $\sigma\kappa\alpha\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\phi\eta\nu$, etc. ($\sigma\kappa\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$; Solmsen *Beitr. z. griech. Wortforschung* 196 ff.); $\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\iota\varsigma$ "needle," Epich. 138 Kaib., Lith. *verpú* "spin," but $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\varsigma$ "needle," $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\eta}$ "a stitching, seam," $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$, etc. ($\rho\acute{\alpha}\pi\tau\omega$; cf. Prellwitz); $\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\acute{\eta}$, Hom., +, but $\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\eta}$ "a throw," Lyc., $\acute{\alpha}\nu\alpha\pi\acute{\omicron}\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ " $\acute{\alpha}\mu\epsilon\mu\pi\tau\omicron\varsigma$," papyri, $\acute{\epsilon}\rho\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\eta\nu$, Eur., +, $\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\acute{\eta}\sigma\omicron\mu\alpha\iota$, LXX, + ($\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\tau\omega$); (σ) $\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "niggardly," Lucilius in *Anth. P.* 11. 172, (σ) $\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\tau\eta\varsigma$, Ps.-Hipp., +, but $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$, Phryn., +, $\Gamma\upsilon\iota\phi\omega\nu$, $\text{Μισ}\acute{\omicron}\gamma\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$, Luc. ($\sigma\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\tau\omega$ "pinch, nip"). The ϕ of $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$,¹ beside (σ) $\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "dim-sighted," $\kappa\epsilon\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\omicron\iota$. . . η $\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\iota$ $\tau\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ $\acute{\omicron}\phi\theta\alpha\lambda\mu\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, Hesych., is due to the pair $\sigma\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$: (σ) $\kappa\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "niggardly." That $\kappa\acute{\nu}\epsilon\phi\alpha\varsigma$ "darkness" cannot be responsible for the change is shown by the initial σ .

Laconian $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\iota\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$ "wild olive," in a proverb cited by Antonius Monachus and others, beside $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "wild olive," Hesych., and its derivative Ἀγρίφα . Ἀθηνᾶ , Hesych., suggests a popular connection with the phrase $\acute{\alpha}\gamma\upsilon\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\acute{\iota}\pi\pi\omicron\varsigma$. Perhaps Cyprian $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\phi\omicron\varsigma$. $\beta\omicron\upsilon\tau\upsilon\tau\omicron\nu\omicron\nu$, Hesych., beside $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\phi\omicron\varsigma$. $\acute{\epsilon}\lambda\alpha\iota\omicron\nu$, $\sigma\tau\acute{\epsilon}\alpha\rho$, $\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\theta\eta\nu\acute{\iota}\alpha$, Hesych., owes its ϕ to the influence of $\acute{\alpha}\lambda\epsilon\acute{\iota}\phi\omega$ and the related forms. Doric $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha$ "a large radish" and $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\alpha\nu\acute{\iota}\varsigma$: $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\upsilon\varsigma$ "turnip," Lat. *rāpum*, etc., were perhaps connected in the popular mind with $\rho\acute{\alpha}\phi\iota\varsigma$ "needle," an implement that was not unlike a radish in shape.

From their first appearance until the present day the two words $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ "fishing net," Artemid., Diog. L., +, and $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "riddle," Ar., +, have been kept distinct, with the exception of two occurrences of $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ "net" in Plut. 2. 471 D and Opp. H. 3. 80.² The π of $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\varsigma$ is further attested by $\gamma\rho\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\varsigma$ "fisher," Theocr., +, $\Gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\omega\nu$, the name of a fisherman, Leonidas in *Anth. P.* 7. 504, $\gamma\rho\iota\pi\eta\acute{\iota}\varsigma$, Antipater in *Anth. P.*, $\gamma\rho\iota\pi\acute{\epsilon}\upsilon\omega$, $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\iota\sigma\mu\alpha$, Anton. Mon., $\gamma\rho\iota\pi\acute{\iota}\zeta\omega$, Hesych. It seems more likely, then, that the copyists have blundered than that Plutarch and Oppian really knew a by-form $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\phi\omicron\varsigma$ = $\gamma\rho\acute{\iota}\pi\omicron\varsigma$.

¹ On the provenience of the word, see Herwerden.

² $\gamma\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ in Pap. Tebt. 2. 486 is very dubious, and the perfect participle $\gamma\epsilon\gamma\rho\iota\phi\omicron\varsigma$ in Hesych. is in line with $\pi\acute{\epsilon}\tau\omicron\mu\phi\alpha$, etc.

The Latin *cupa* "cask, vat" (κοῦπα, IG. 14. 1342, ἡμι-κοίπη, inscr. in *Comptes Rendus de l'Acad. des Inscr.* 1866, 384) appears as κοῦφον in ostraka and papyri (95 A.D., +) and in the *Aporrhthegmata Patrum*.¹ The word has evidently been brought into semantic relationship with κοῦφος "light," i.e., "movable." κόλφος, IG. 14. 189, +, Modern Greek κόρφος, κόλφος is κόλπος, which changed its *p* to *ph* in Latin (cf. Ital. *golf*, Fr. *golfe*),² and was taken back into Greek in the new form.

ἀμφίδαφος = ἀμφιτάπης, Pap. Ox. 2. 298. 9, 10 (first century A.D.), is for *ἀμφίδαπος. Cf. ἀμφίταπος, LXX, +, and δάπης = τάπης. The second *φ* is due to assimilation. Cf., with assimilation in the opposite direction, Ἀνθίλοχος = Ἀντίλοχος.

We have noticed the effect of the suffix -φος, -φη in ἄπαφος : ἔποψ (p. 199) and ταρήφη : τάρπη (p. 205). κάφος, E.M., Eust., beside κάπος "breath," is of doubtful authenticity. Apparently the word was coined to explain the Homeric κεκαφηότα θυμόν. Eust., 1280. 34 f., says: Ἀποκαπύσαι δὲ ψυχὴν τὸ ἀποπνεῦσαι. κάφος γὰρ φασὶ τὸ πνεῦμα, ἐξ οὗ τὸ κεκαφηότα θυμόν. τὸ δ' αὐτὸ καὶ ὁ κάπος, ἐξ οὗ καὶ ὁ κῆπος, ὡς ἀλλαχοῦ εἴρηται.³ I doubt the connection of στύπος "stick" with στυφοκόπος = ὀρτυγοκόπος.

On λίσπος beside λίσφος, see p. 202, and on μαστροφός beside μαστροπός, see p. 206.

3. β : φ.—One of the best-known features of the Macedonian dialect is the development of the Indo-European mediae aspiratae into mediae. In the present connection we need mention only those words in which Macedonian β stands as stem final beside general Greek φ. The most certain instances are κάραβος : Σκάρφη, κόμβος : γόμφος, γομφίος, and νίβα : νίφα. (See Hoffmann *Die Macedonen* 28, 37, 52.) For the personal name Κόρραβος, Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 146, thinks of the suffix -φος, but the suffix -βος is more common in personal names (see CP. V. 337 ff.). We may add to Hoffmann's material κυβός = κυφός, Orion 38. 6 (Herwerden), and the geographical name *Ottolobos* = Ὀκτώλοφος, which Livy (31. 36, 40, 44. 3) uses

¹ The papyri and ostraka show that Sophocles, *Lexicon s.v.*, was wrong in assuming a nominative κοῦφος. The feminine κοῦφα is very late.

² See Kretschmer *BZ.* 10. 581, and Triandaphyllidis *Lehnwörter d. mittellgriech. Vulgärliteratur* 168 footnote. (In line 5 κόλπος is a misprint for κόλφος.)

³ Cf. Fay *CQ.* 1. 18. On the etymology of κεκαφηότα, see Solmsen *Beitr. z. griech. Wortforschung* 123.

of a place in Macedonia and of another in Perrhaebia on the Macedonian border.

Hoffmann, *op. cit.* 37, also finds a Macedonian word *νίβᾱ* "spring" in the Hesychian gloss, *νίβα· χιόνα, καὶ κρήνην*, interpreted in the light of the version given by Suidas and Photius: *νίβα· χιόνα. καλεῖται δὲ οὕτως καὶ κρήνη ἐν Θράκῃ*; for he thinks that the second sentence necessarily implies a nominative *νίβα*. He finds confirmation of such a Macedonian form in the derivative *Νίβας*, the name of a place near Thessalonica. There is no doubt that the article in Hesychius treats two distinct words, but the true form of the second is shown by *Νίψ*, *Νιβός· ὄνομα κρήνης*, *E.M.* 568. 16, and *Νίψ*, *Νιβός· κρήνη*, Sophonius in Hilgard's Theodosius 2. 402. 8. With the last-mentioned glosses Hesychius is in perfect harmony, while the phraseology of Suidas and Photius is not necessarily inconsistent with them. The substitution of *νίψ*, *νιβός* for Hoffmann's *νίβᾱ* does not of course affect his argument that the word, together with *Νίβας*, is Macedonian and belongs with Ir. *snigim* "drop, rain," and Skt. *snīhyati* "become moist, sticky," etc., from a root *sneigʰh-* (whether this group is to be combined with that meaning "snow" is, however, a further question). But it is also possible that the root is *neigʰ*, which appears in *νίζω, νίπτω, νίπτρον, χέρνιψ, χέρνιβον*, Skt. *nenekti, nejayati* "wash," Av. *naēniṣaiti* "wash something off," etc. In that case there would be nothing in the form of the word to suggest Macedonian origin.

The Indo-European interchange between media and media aspirata appears, for example, in *ἄλβος* "wealth," Skt. *árjati* "earn" : *ἀλφή* "gain," Skt. *árhati* "deserve," *arghá* "worth"; *κύβος* "a hollow above the hips of cattle," Eng. *hip*, Lat. *cubo* : *κυφός* "stooping, hump-backed" (Walde, *s.v. cubitum*); *στραβός* "squinting," *στροφός* "a whirling," *στρεβλός* "distorted," Lat. (originally Umbrian) *strebula* "meat from the hips of oxen" : *στρέφω, στροφός* (Walde); Ir. *mebul* "disgrace," Goth. *bi-mampjan* "mock, deride" : *μέμφομαι, μομφή, μεμφωλή* (Fick 2⁴, 208, keeps Ir. *mebul* separate). *ὄροβος* "bitter vetch," *ἐρέβιθος* "chick pea" : Lat. *ervum*, OHG. *araweiz*, NHG. *Erbse* may represent I-E. **erogʰo-* : **erogʰho-* (Walde; cf. *CP.* V. 332).

In several words analogy has led to the substitution of *φ* for an original *β*. *καλυφή* "covering," papyrus of the first century A.D., in

the phrase ἀπὸ καλυφῆς αἰγυαλοῦ "from high water mark" (or possibly "from low water mark"), beside καλύβη "hut, cell," Hdt., +, was formed from καλύπτω on the basis of the pairs κρυφή : κρύπτω, τρυφή : θρύπτω, βαφή : βάπτω, etc. Similarly ἀκαλυφής, Soph., +, and ἀκάλυφος, Diog. L., were formed from καλύπτω on the model of such pairs as ἀναφής, Plat., +, : ἄπτομαι, ἀρραφής, Arat., ἄρραφος, N.T., +, : ῥάπτω, ἄγναφος, N.T., +, : γνάπτω, ἄταφος : θάπτω, ἄτρυφος, Alem., : θρύπτω. κολουφρόν· ἐλαφρόν, Hesych., beside κολουβάω "dive," κολουβος "diver," Ar., etc., Goth. *hlauran*, NHG. *laufen* (Zupitza *German. Gutturale* 118) shows the influence of ἐλαφρός.

If τρίφος, which Du Cange cites from a gloss as equivalent to τρίβος, is a genuine form, it was made from τρίζω and ἔτριψα on the model of σκάφος : σκάψω and ἔσκαψα, ὄροφος : ἐρέψω and ἤρεψα, etc. If στίφος "throng, mass" and στιφρός "firm, solid" are akin to στείβω, their φ is due to some similar analogical influence (cf. the ambiguous στιπτός "trodden down" and "tough, sturdy"). Uhlenbeck's (*Etym. Wörterb. d. ai. Sprache*) connection of Skt. *stibhiś* "tuft, bunch" with these words is not probable enough to warrant the assumption of a third root form beside *steip- and *steib-. For γρυφός beside γρυβός, see p. 200.

The reverse analogical change of original φ to β also occurs. In κρυβήσομαι, Eur., ἔκρυβον, ἐκρύβην, Apollod., +, κρυβῆ, ἀποκρυβή, ἀποκρυβήσομαι, LXX, +, ἐγκρύβω, Diod., +, Κρύβηλος Hesych., Κρυβοί, a Byzantine geographical name, etc. (cf. also Lobeck *Phryg.* 317), beside earlier κρυφηδόν, Hom., κρύφιος, Hes., +, κρύφα, etc., the change was due to the analogy of τρίζω beside ἔτριψα, βλάβη, ἐβλάβην, beside βλάπτω, and the like, perhaps in this case assisted by the existence of the adverbs κρύβδην and κρύβδα. Modern Greek has not only κρύβω, but also σκάβω, ράβω, κλέβω, etc. Cf. Hatzidakis *KZ.* 27. 76. If we assume an original aspirate for βόμβος on account of Skt. *bambharas* "bee" (found only in lexicons), *bambhāra*-*vas* "lowing" of cows, *bambharālīs* "fly," a persistent feeling for the onomatopoeic character of the word would help explain the change from voiceless φ to β. The same consideration applies to στόμβος· βαρύηχος, βαρύφθογγος, Galen *Lex. Hipp.*, beside στόμφος "bombast," στομφός "bombastic," στόμφαξ, στομφάζω, Ar.¹

¹These words have no connection with στόβος "abuse, bad language," or with σομφός "spongy," of sounds, "hollow, loud."

There remain a number of words which show a variation between ϕ or $\mu\phi$ and $\mu\beta$, on the basis of which a number of scholars have inferred a change in Greek itself of aspirate to media after nasals.¹ The group $\mu\phi$, however, often remains (e.g., γόμφος, νύμφη, μομφή), and no satisfactory limitation of the operation of the supposed phonetic law has yet been proposed.

In some cases the variation is clearly Indo-European (see Brugmann *Grundr.* 1². 633), as ἀστεμφής "firm," στέμφυλα "olives or grapes pressed dry," Skt. *stambhate* "become firm or rigid": στέμβω "shake," OHG. *stampfon*, Eng. *stamp*; ἀφρός, νέφος, etc.: ὄμβρος, Skt. *āmbu* "water," Arm. *amp* "cloud;" θάμβος "astonishment," ON. *dapr* "sad": τάφος "astonishment;" κάρφω "wither," κάρφη "hay," κάρφος, Lith. *skrebiú* "become dry": κράμβος "dry, loud," Ar., κρόμβος "dry, roasted," Hesych., κρομβόω "roast," Diphil., NHG. *rümpfen*. In μέφομαι : Ir. *mebul*, Goth. *bimampjan* (see above, p. 212) Greek has preserved only the aspirated form of the root. We have a similar interchange of I-E. labio-velars in ὄφης, Skt. *āhis* "snake": OHG. *unc* "snake," ἵμβηρις· ἔγχελυς. Μηθυμναῖοι, Hesych. Perhaps, however, we should omit the last word on account of its vocalism (Brugmann *Grundr.* 1². 634).

στρόμβος "top" : στρέφω, στρόφος, etc., was probably influenced by ῥόμβος "top."

The tendency established by such pairs as ἀστεμφής : στέμβω, ἀφρός : ὄμβρος, τάφος : θάμβος, κάρφω : κράμβος, στρόμβος : στρέφω, sometimes became effective even where it was not assisted by similarity of meaning with any of these.² Thus we find $\mu\beta$ instead of ϕ in κόρυμβος "summit, hairpin," κορύμβη "hairpin": κορυφή, κόρυφος "summit, peak, hairpin" (see above, p. 204); βρέμβος = βρέφος, Hesych.; κύμβος, κύμβη "cup" : Skt. *kumbhās* "cup," Av. *xumba-* "pot"; ἀτέμβω "cheat" : Skt. *dabhnóti*, *dābhati* "injure, deceive." Perhaps we should set down here

¹Most recently Otto Hoffmann, *Die Makedonen* 240 f., who gives references to earlier discussions. All the examples contain Greek labials except πύνδαξ πυθμήν, for which Brugmann, *Grundr.* 1². 633, suggests Indo-European variation between *d* and *dh*.

²For such imitative substitution, which is not to be denied a wide scope in language, and which many regard as a fundamental factor in the regular phonetic changes, compare Wheeler "Causes of Uniformity in Phonetic Change," *Trans. Am. Phil. Assn.* 32, 5 ff., especially p. 14, and Thurneysen *Etymologie* 17 ff., *KZ.* 44. 111.

κύ(μ)βη "head," *E.M.*, Georg. Sanguinatus : Cretan κυφά "head," Hesych. λιμφός· συκοφάντης . . . ἡ μηνυτῆς παρανόμων, Hesych., is probably not to be identified with λιμβός "greedy," Hesych., +.

That the change in question took place after the dissimilation of aspirates is indicated by κύμβος : Av. *xumba-* from **khumbo-*, and ἀτέμβω : Skt. *dābhati* from **dhebh*.¹ Hence in θρόμβος "lump, clot of blood" : τρέφεσθαι "curdle," ταρφύς, etc., and θρεμβός "fat," *CGL* : τρέφω (cf. *CP*. V. 334), we have to account for the initial aspirate by the analogy of such forms as θρέψω, ἔθρεψα, and τέθραμμαι.

The occasional interchange of *bh* and *b* in the parent speech and of *φ* and *μβ* in Greek furnish us two possible points of contact between the suffixes in *φ* and *β*. Perhaps, then, it is not altogether accidental that both the suffixes are employed to form animal names and derogatory adjectives. See *CP*. V. 331, 333 ff., and Niedermann, *IF. Anz* 19. 32 f. The present writer, however, does not know of any word with Indo-European suffix *-bo* from *-bho*. We may, perhaps, suspect some such relationship between ἀσκάλαφος, κάλαφος, an unknown bird, Arist., +, and ἀσκάλαβος, καλαβάς "spotted lizard," Nicand., +. That the words date from prehistoric times is indicated by the fact that both Ἀσκάλαφος and Ἀσκάλαβος occur as mythological proper names. Their etymology is unknown. As was shown in *CP*. V. 326 ff., the Greek suffix *-βος* is chiefly due to adaptation in Greek itself. To the factors there discussed we may now add one more: the Greek substitution of *μβ* for *φ* seems to have affected a few words in which *φ* was a formative element.

The preceding discussion covers the words in which *φ* appears to be a formative element. The great majority of words in *-φη*, *-φης*, and *φος* are forms with radical *φ*, which, with their numerous compounds, e.g., *-γραφος*, *-σοφος*, *-τροφος*, swell the lists to such proportions that their publication must be deferred.

¹ *τύμβος* "foolish," a word that has been inferred from Euripides' γέροντα τύμβον, and Hesychius' τυμβογέρων· ἐσχατόγηρος, and compared with τῦφος "smoke," is purely imaginary.